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Since the economic history of these centuries was profoundly influenced by the participation of Europeans in the country trade within the eastern seas, chapter 6 describes the course of this trade and its interconnections with the trade to Europe via the Cape. Finally, in chapter 7, the relations between Europeans and Asians are considered with some reference to the growth of European knowledge of Asia and to the profound effect the presence of the European had on social history in Asia as well as in Europe.

Throughout, I have tried to view the lives of European traders and their Asian collaborators, insofar as possible, as they themselves saw them instead of looking at them from a purely present-day western standpoint. Much of the mercantile and maritime activity in the Indian and China seas, centuries old before the Europeans were ever heard of, pursued the even tenor of its way throughout the modern period. Similarly, traditional Asian methods of accounting, transferring funds, and granting credit continued side by side with European business procedures. Although European entrepreneurs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thinking and acting in terms of the theories and practices of their own day, believed—at least, most of them—in the superiority of their religion and civilization, they by no means universally believed in the superiority of their economy. Our view of the West as “rich” and “developed” and of most of Asia as “poor” and “underdeveloped” would have been incomprehensible to them.

For an understanding of their view of Asia, it must always be remembered that the Europeans had not experienced the industrial, “communications,” and medical revolutions of the nineteenth century. We can probably appreciate more easily the great changes in transport and in medicine than those which the industrial revolution brought in Europe’s relations with Asia. The monsoon winds determined the timing of the voyages; the time-lag of from five to six months in communication with Asia and of at least a year in receiving a reply to a letter caused difficulties. Contemporaries took these conditions for granted, just as they did the omnipresence and capriciousness of death. They recognized that life expectancy in the tropics was somewhat less than in Europe, but, for many of them, either the possible rewards offset the risks, or the life awaiting them east of the Cape was more appealing than the one facing them at home. Many Europeans of humble social origins preferred the blue skies, warm breezes, and other attractions of the tropics to the squalor to which they were condemned in Europe, and many more, plied with drink and dumped aboard an East Indiaman, had no choice in the matter. Assuredly, among Europeans who developed immunity to tropical diseases in Asia there

were many who would have succumbed to pneumonia, tuberculosis, cholera, plague, and other scourges which ravaged Europe before the advent of modern medicine.

In both Europe and Asia, the long voyages and their risks are vivid and colorful but the simpler technology, the smaller populations, the class and caste conscious societies, the greater affinity between urban and rural life are not so easily envisaged. It is difficult to imagine a world not confronted with a population explosion, to picture Portugal and the Netherlands, each with less than two million people, and England with less than eight. Even France with a much larger population was a very different France from the France of later times. All societies, Asian and European, were overwhelmingly agricultural and the social cleavages between the ruling elites and the mass of the population in Asia were more similar to those in Europe than is the case today. The country was ever present in the largest of cities, nearly all of which, whether in Europe or in Asia, were by our twentieth-century standards small towns intimately linked with the surrounding countryside and filled with evidences of country life. Cows were kept in the heart of London just as they were in the center of Delhi and other great Asian cities.

European knowledge of Asia, thanks to numerous travel narratives and the development of cartography, was far greater than Asian knowledge of Europe. No one knew what the population of Asia was, but it loomed far larger than that of Europe.<sup>2</sup> Though the Portuguese had proved the superiority of Europe in weapons and in military power on the sea, the great Asian empires—Chinese, Japanese, Ottoman, Persian, and Mughal—commanded European respect. All were widely recognized in 1600 as the seats of great, though non-Christian, civilizations, whose artisans produced goods of a quality that as yet Europeans could not hope to equal. Most Europeans were obsessed with hostility toward Islam, and the idea that allies for the continuance of the crusade against Muslims could be found among non-Muslim Asian peoples had not been entirely given up. The rulers of the Mughal empire in India, founded by Baber, a Muslim invader from central Asia in the 1520s, and consolidated by Akbar fifty years later, did not control all India to the extent that the “Grand Turk” (sultan) at Constantinople, the shah of Persia, and the emperors of China and Japan controlled their respective dominions. The Asian regions where local political authority was weakest, India and the Malay archipelago,<sup>3</sup> were destined to become the seats of European empire.

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Since the economic history of these centuries was profoundly influenced by the participation of Europeans in the country trade within the eastern seas, chapter 6 describes the course of this trade and its interconnections with the trade to Europe via the Cape. Finally, in chapter 7, the relations between Europeans and Asians are considered with some reference to the growth of European knowledge of Asia and to the profound effect the presence of the European had on social history in Asia as well as in Europe.

Throughout, I have tried to view the lives of European traders and their Asian collaborators, insofar as possible, as they themselves saw them instead of looking at them from a purely present-day western standpoint. Much of the mercantile and maritime activity in the Indian and China seas, centuries old before the Europeans were ever heard of, pursued the even tenor of its way throughout the modern period. Similarly, traditional Asian methods of accounting, transferring funds, and granting credit continued side by side with European business procedures. Although European entrepreneurs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thinking and acting in terms of the theories and practices of their own day, believed—at least, most of them—in the superiority of their religion and civilization, they by no means universally believed in the superiority of their economy. Our view of the West as “rich” and “developed” and of most of Asia as “poor” and “underdeveloped” would have been incomprehensible to them.

For an understanding of their view of Asia, it must always be remembered that the Europeans had not experienced the industrial, “communications,” and medical revolutions of the nineteenth century. We can probably appreciate more easily the great changes in transport and in medicine than those which the industrial revolution brought in Europe’s relations with Asia. The monsoon winds determined the timing of the voyages; the time-lag of from five to six months in communication with Asia and of at least a year in receiving a reply to a letter caused difficulties. Contemporaries took these conditions for granted, just as they did the omnipresence and capriciousness of death. They recognized that life expectancy in the tropics was somewhat less than in Europe, but, for many of them, either the possible rewards offset the risks, or the life awaiting them east of the Cape was more appealing than the one facing them at home. Many Europeans of humble social origins preferred the blue skies, warm breezes, and other attractions of the tropics to the squalor to which they were condemned in Europe, and many more, plied with drink and dumped aboard an East Indiaman, had no choice in the matter. Assuredly, among Europeans who developed immunity to tropical diseases in Asia there

were many who would have succumbed to pneumonia, tuberculosis, cholera, plague, and other scourges which ravaged Europe before the advent of modern medicine.

In both Europe and Asia, the long voyages and their risks are vivid and colorful but the simpler technology, the smaller populations, the class and caste conscious societies, the greater affinity between urban and rural life are not so easily envisaged. It is difficult to imagine a world not confronted with a population explosion, to picture Portugal and the Netherlands, each with less than two million people, and England with less than eight. Even France with a much larger population was a very different France from the France of later times. All societies, Asian and European, were overwhelmingly agricultural and the social cleavages between the ruling elites and the mass of the population in Asia were more similar to those in Europe than is the case today. The country was ever present in the largest of cities, nearly all of which, whether in Europe or in Asia, were by our twentieth-century standards small towns intimately linked with the surrounding countryside and filled with evidences of country life. Cows were kept in the heart of London just as they were in the center of Delhi and other great Asian cities.

European knowledge of Asia, thanks to numerous travel narratives and the development of cartography, was far greater than Asian knowledge of Europe. No one knew what the population of Asia was, but it loomed far larger than that of Europe.<sup>2</sup> Though the Portuguese had proved the superiority of Europe in weapons and in military power on the sea, the great Asian empires—Chinese, Japanese, Ottoman, Persian, and Mughal—commanded European respect. All were widely recognized in 1600 as the seats of great, though non-Christian, civilizations, whose artisans produced goods of a quality that as yet Europeans could not hope to equal. Most Europeans were obsessed with hostility toward Islam, and the idea that allies for the continuance of the crusade against Muslims could be found among non-Muslim Asian peoples had not been entirely given up. The rulers of the Mughal empire in India, founded by Baber, a Muslim invader from central Asia in the 1520s, and consolidated by Akbar fifty years later, did not control all India to the extent that the “Grand Turk” (sultan) at Constantinople, the shah of Persia, and the emperors of China and Japan controlled their respective dominions. The Asian regions where local political authority was weakest, India and the Malay archipelago,<sup>3</sup> were destined to become the seats of European empire.

The whole littoral of East Africa and of Asia was regarded as one vast region generally called the East Indies by the European missionaries and mer-

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